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**MILITARY DIPLOMATIC CHALLENGES:
THE BIRTHING OF NEW DEMOCRACIES**

BY

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ABSTRACT

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Prior to my current assignment, I had the unique opportunity to experience up-close the challenges of dealing with diplomatic matters being involved in the process of negotiations and serving as intermediary in the establishment of contacts between the holders of political power of the different states. During that tour, I was a member of the sector for International Cooperation within the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Macedonia. From that position, I often adjusted systems and procedures to assist the sector in meeting its mission. This research project will examine some of the aspects of how the concept of diplomacy, in particular military diplomacy, can be used to achieve end state and military goals. I had a tremendous team assisting me in acquiring the extensive historic and contemporary documents and other information. My primary information providers were CPT Pance Vasilev and LTC Dragan Kevresan. They provided their time and energy while actively participating in the researching and collecting materials effort. Each of them freely and generously provided updated materials and direction.

I extend my gratitude to Mr. William Spritzar. Mr. Spritzar often validated and reviewed facts and figures for accuracy. He is a rigorous reviewer, great planner and friend. He is one of the most knowledgeable persons in the field of the strategic management and the planning process.

Finally, Colonel Linda Norman has been an excellent mentor and project advisor. Her advice and direction were instrumental in completing my project. Colonel Norman freely offered advice on a number of professional and personal matters. If you are willing to hear the truth on any topic, ask Linda Norman. The one area that he was truly exceptional on was her ability to keep me on track toward a goal of developing a project that would assist the Macedonian Army policymakers. That advice was a positive force in completing this research. I will always be indebted to her.

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MILITARY DIPLOMATIC CHALLENGES: THE BIRTHING OF NEW DEMOCRATIES

"Weapons are ominous tools to be used only when there is no alternative"

- Sun Tzu Wu -¹

MILITARY DIPLOMACY AND ITS MEANING TO THE DEFENSE OF THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

The Republic of Macedonia is a young country, and yet, most of the international activities, reactions and exposures have thus far been accomplished at a high level although Macedonia is surrounded by nations in conflict. The nation has dealt with its problems in a good diplomatic way to preserve its peace and maintain stability. Diplomacy is always at the center of events in this nation state, and this phenomenon is not a new event, but dates from antiquity. The 20th Century is the century that confirms the importance of diplomacy as a science, skill and social requirement. Diplomacy is a characteristic of a nation state that affects the bilateral, multilateral and international relations in general. As diplomatic law is the first component regulated amongst countries in international law, it should find its rightful and actual usage within every growing country. The organization of the diplomatic structure of a country truly shows the quality of that nation, its possibilities and perspectives.

GENERAL OUTLOOK ON DIPLOMACY

Before we determine diplomacy according to the contemporary standards, lets make a short digression on its appearance and importance in history. The word "diplomacy" originates from the Greek word "diploma" which means the document which the diplomat received from his ruler and which he handed to the ruler of the country in which he was to be accredited. But, the words "diploma" and "diplomacy" do not appear until the 17th Century. There are several historical documents, which give us a view on how the diplomacy of these ancient civilization countries worked. The most important document of this kind is the Laws of Manu, one of the pillars of Hindu civilization, dating back to the 3rd century B.C. Herein there are important references to the use of intermediaries between countries and explains the ways of solving problems with the foreigners. The diplomatic relations in ancient Greece were quite complex and were the result of the democratic societies in the cities forming the nation. The disputes between states were solved through delegates selected by the people's assembly. Many famous people from history have proven themselves to be good diplomats: in Greece, Perikle and Fillip Macedonian in Rome, Popileus, Caesar, and Marcus Aurelius. Although some norms were respected--such as at least one delegate representing their ruler had to know the language and customs of the country to which they have credentials, one can still say that the ancient civilizations did not have clear rules and codes of behavior. In the Middle Ages, especially with the Catholic Church and the Pope, diplomacy and its development came under the control of the church. The Middle Ages are characterized by the

appearance of permanent diplomatic representatives who were almost always under the under the guidance of the church.

With the appearance of modern countries came the need for the creation of specific government functions for diplomacy. This is the time when the ministry of foreign affairs appeared as the most significant organizational development for diplomacy. The 20th Century is the century of quick development of diplomacy, a century that makes diplomacy a science of its own and the basic subject of international relations. The forming of diplomatic institutions became complete, and diplomacy itself is now separated to general, military, top diplomacy and diplomacy of international organizations.

Defining “diplomacy” today is beyond the ancient Greek definition. Diplomacy can be viewed as both science and a skill. It is a science because diplomacy has its own scientific laws and theories on which the foreign affairs are based, and a skill, because there are rules for the diplomatic corps. Diplomacy can therefore be defined as a specialized organization of a country which deals with planning, organizing and guiding the foreign affairs of the country through its own methods. The entire concept of diplomacy may be defined as follows:

- An instrument of foreign policy
- The establishment and development of peaceful contacts between the governments of different states
- The use of intermediaries
- Mutually recognized by the respective parties.²

In the realm of international relations, countries act through an well-organized apparatus, which is authorized by the highest organs of the state to represent the country. These authorizations from the state are not permanent; they are limited in time and scope based upon the nation's prerogatives and interests. The international community depends on various legal norms such as international law, which regulates the relations between nations. International law is based on customs and legal and moral norms. There have to be sovereign countries and international organizations forming the international system, so that international relations may exist. Nations can only have an international legal system if they own a certain internationally confirmed territory, have inhabitants of that territory, and a sovereign government.

After the constitutional or declarative (“de jure” or “de facto”) recognition of the country, diplomatic relations are set. The process of the country's recognition and the setting of diplomatic relations go through the system of international dynamics. Every organized society, including the international community, must determine and respect the legal norms that regulate the behavior of its citizens as well as the countries and organizations which create and develop international relations by respecting the rules of international communication. The procedure used for a country to determine and develop international relations was determined at the Vienna Conference for diplomatic relations (April 14-30, 1961), in which the Convention for diplomatic relations and immunity was determined. According to the Vienna Convention, the country announces its decision to commence diplomatic relations with another

country after they obtain an agreement from the host country by a decree from the chief of the country, the minister of defense, or another organ of the state in which the accreditation of a certain diplomat is accepted. The Vienna Convention anticipates agreements only for certain categories of diplomats, such as chief of diplomatic missions, ambassadors, and military attachés; and agreements are not necessary for other types of diplomats.

MILITARY DIPLOMACY AND ITS SPECIFICS

It is clear that in ancient times, when the ruler of a nation was integrated with the position of the military commander, general diplomacy was also integrated with military aims and assignments. With the appearance of modern countries, international communication spreads out to higher levels, and a growing country requires separate organizations to take care of its duties. One body alone cannot manage all of the affairs of state. Thus, general and military diplomacy are separated into the departments of ministry of foreign affairs and ministry of defense. With this separation, a specific part of diplomacy treats just military questions, and follows diplomatic communication between countries. Military diplomacy deals with armed forces, military interventions, offensive or defensive warfare and the political implications of relations among the states. These problems require specialized military staff and military diplomats.

Realizing that having a military representative within the diplomatic corps is necessary for the implementation of a military component in almost all diplomatic missions during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The founder of the practice of appointing military representatives in foreign countries is thought to be Napoleon, who appointed his Captain-De Landrange as second secretary in the French embassy in Vienna. De Landrange was actually only collecting information of a military nature. After Napoleon, other countries began sending military experts in other countries in order to obtain valuable information. And already through the 30 years of the nineteenth century, most European countries had military representatives in their embassies.

The period from 1810 to 1852 is a period in which permanent, legitimate military representatives, usually chosen by the general staff, were appointed to positions at embassies. In the beginning, practically every country had its own name for the military representative. In time, the English word "attaché", primarily used for a rank of a diplomatic representative, became common for all countries as the name of the military representative. Later, the practice of separating the military attaché from the general diplomatic representative spread throughout other continents. This new diplomacy is formed with the basic aims to represent the military components in international relations and to provide for indirect communication between countries. It is formed from the ministry of defense, the chief of the general staff and his assistants and deputies. In the beginning, the military attaché could manage everything, with the development of armed forces and the more complex international relations; it became necessary to enlarge the number of military diplomatic representatives. The need appeared to institutionalize a separate apparatus consisting of officers with various profiles and expertise to deal with the most delicate

matters. So, advanced types of military diplomacy include: military top diplomacy; regular military diplomacy, military diplomatic representatives, military economic representatives, and military missions and commissions.

In order to manage general and regular military matters, permanent diplomatic representations are established and accredited as in general diplomacy. The organization and number of military representatives depends upon the interest of the country. On the top is the military representative (attaché) who represents the armed forces of the country. The attaché has a staff of assistants, administrative-technical experts, and administrative personnel. Normally there are representatives of the three components of the nation's armed forces (Army, Navy, and Air Force), but there are also cases of one person representing two or more services.

The military organization and its function are very complex. Its primary aim is to act in times of war, but it has functions in times of peace. State politics and national interests determine its action. Although military diplomacy is a part of the military organization; it is also an integral part of country's politics and used in order to achieve its internal and external aims. It is important to know that the power of Armed Forces can cause significance consequences even in peace times when application of its power is only prospective. So, every country tends to evaluate that potential and the effects of a possible military conflict, and this is the time when diplomacy is engaged, basically military diplomacy and intelligence as well.

Theory and practice point military diplomacy towards two directions. The first direction is the need for active development and cooperation between armies. The second and often conflicting interest is the gathering of secret and other data on the armed forces of the host country. This activity is usually managed by military intelligence. Intelligence in military representation can be legitimate and illegitimate; i.e. public or secret. Everything prohibited by international law and internal laws of the host country is considered illegitimate activity. According to the Vienna convention for diplomatic relations and immunity from 1961, members of diplomatic missions have the right of gathering data and preparing reports on the country that accredited them.

TASKS OF MILITARY DIPLOMACY

The basic tasks of military diplomatic representatives are to represent its Armed Forces and to protect their interests and the interests of their members. These functions are determined generally by the Vienna Convention. Actually, the tasks of military diplomacy are far more complex and specific. They can generally be divided into legitimate (public) and illegitimate (secret) tasks.

The first group of tasks derive from the functions of military diplomacy determined by the Vienna Convention, by internal legislative from bilateral agreements between the accrediting country and the host country, and other positive international legal resolutions and declarations partially or completely regarding military matters. Accordingly, the military representative is a representative of his country's

armed forces and an official authorized to deal with political matters of interest of his home country's armed forces in the host country. These are protocol tasks, which are many and important, but not the most important for the success of the diplomatic mission. The negotiations with the government and the ministry of defense of the host country are the second task of the military diplomatic representative. This task is important because it affects the development of friendly and other relations. The military diplomatic representative may have a special license to negotiate agreements but cannot sign international agreements without authorization. The negotiations usually deal with cooperation between armies, buying and selling weapons and equipment, and sharing information from military, economic or political standpoint. Sharing data is a common practice in the modern world.

Protection of the interests of the Armed Forces and their members in the host country is also a task of military diplomacy, and is accomplished by protecting the basic tangible (such as real estate) and intangible rights. Gathering data and informing on condition and events in the host country is an important and delicate task. The Vienna Convention strictly pointed out that the only those means which are allowed to be used in gathering data, but does not list them. Allowed means are those approved by the host country but not sanctioned by law of the host country. A skilled diplomat always finds a way of getting to the data without committing an illegal act.

The tasks of military diplomacy are many and complex. They begin with the protocol duties to end up with the most delicate shades of military intelligence performed by the vast majority of the military diplomatic staff.

MILITARY DIPLOMACY EXPERIENCES

The task of a diplomat is often maintained to save the peace, and; than if they cannot to attain a peaceful solution, to move off the stage of world politics until the military can win it back. The task of military men is to win a war, and when they win it, to retire from view until the diplomats again lose it.³

In the history of military diplomacy, there are many examples that show a successful diplomatic mission can positively affect the course of history and conversely, a failure of a certain mission often negatively influences the course of history. For instance, Philip of Macedonia claimed that he could conquer any country with a donkey "loaded with gold." That gold means number of distinct diplomatic activities that can be used as tools in diplomacy. Constituent elements of diplomatic activity usually were coercion, persuasion, adjustment and agreement. That gold was implemented many times in history.

It is worth mentioning some important names in the history of military diplomacy of this century, which had direct influence of the great historical events, like World Wars I and II, or the fall of the "Iron Curtain". For instance, Ivan Majski, the Soviet Ambassador in London, in 1932, affected the course of the trilateral negotiations for forming a pact between the USSR, Great Britain and France. From time to time, when relations between Great Britain and the USSR were not favorable, Majski managed to use his connections, tactic and persistence in order to calm the situation and to improve the relations between the

countries. He also promoted Great Britain's move to open a West-European front against fascist Germany.

Another situation occurs when military diplomacy cannot produce positive results. For instance, the military diplomats of royal Yugoslavia, although generally well organized, could not convince the government in the trustworthiness of their reports. Some of those reports are today listed as some of the most valuable diplomatic reports in history. For example, the reports from Vladimir Vauhnik, accredited military attaché in Berlin, had good enough connections to send detailed and frequent reports on the dangers coming from Germany. General Lazarevic also conveyed similar reports from Trieste, as did Colonel Stropnik from the Romanian capital. However, the government, whether deliberately or not, drew the wrong conclusions and Yugoslavia surrendered to the Germans in 12 days. Foreign diplomats, such as Major Terence Atherton and General McLain, had a major influence on Yugoslavia, and basically managed to get Tito and Churchill to meet during the war.

After World War II, military diplomats had great success in many situations, like the agreement for a "hot line" between the USSR and the USA. Other examples of success were the limitation of nuclear tests, the SALT II agreement for limitation of strategic offensive weapons, and the Agreement of destruction of certain nuclear weapon by both great forces. Military diplomacy plays great part in solving the current situation on the Balkans and the rest of the world.

TYPES OF DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS

There are two types of diplomatic missions: permanent and special. Permanent are those diplomatic missions in which two countries send a mission to each other. Every diplomatic mission has its own personnel consisting of three categories of people: members of the diplomatic mission, administrative-technical personnel, and serving personnel.

Members of the diplomatic mission are the people who have diplomatic status to include the chief of the diplomatic mission, ministers, counselors, secretaries, and attachés (military, culture, information, economic relations and others). All members can be named as "diplomatic agents". A special courier who has complete diplomatic invulnerability manages the diplomatic mail. All members of the diplomatic mission enjoy the rights of invulnerability, immunity and privileges. The invulnerability relates to the absolute safety of the individual, the diplomatic archive and documents, and the room of the diplomatic mission. The privileges for the members provide certain custom and fiscal benefits.

Immunity is given to diplomatic representatives, but can be also given to people like chiefs of countries, government representatives and others, but only if it is necessary for their function. The diplomatic agent only enjoys legal immunity, which means that he can be held responsible when there is a prosecution related to private property of the host country or to heritage where the diplomatic agent appears on his own behalf, and not in the name of the country. The diplomatic agency may be subject to prosecution related to a free activity outside his duties.

Concerning special missions to international organizations, their representational activities are certainly fewer than those of bilateral missions, but they are nonetheless an important part of the activity of the multilateral diplomacy. Regarding the aspect of representation consisting of committing the sending state, it can happen that in some international organizations this representational function can be very intense and greater than that of certain bilateral missions. For instance, today in Macedonia there are the special missions of the United Nations (UN Children's Fund -UNICEF, World Health Organization-WHO, UN High Commissioner for Refugees - UNHCR, Food and Agriculture Organization-FAO, International Monetary Fund- IMF), and also the missions of Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), and the International Red Cross organization have that status.

THE EMERGING DIPLOMACY OF THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

After former Yugoslavia fell apart, Macedonia took all the necessary steps to confirm its individual statehood. First, the Declaration of Sovereignty was established to declare to the world, "Macedonia accepts the responsibility for her further destiny in her own hands." After the successful referendum in which 95.32 % of the voters said "yes" to the independence of Macedonia, the Constitution of Macedonia was created, and was based on the civil concept of a state and on the European standards. All state organs receive many assignments, but the first priority was international recognition. The largest burden of this task was forming a diplomatic strategy, along with military diplomacy taking its pioneer steps.

At the beginning, several basic issues appeared. It was necessary to do the following:

- Establish legal and other regulations that will be used to form an appropriate state organ to guide the foreign policy of the country.
- Establish the principles of our foreign policy.
- Base the net, level and status of the diplomatic and council representations.
- Form the base of diplomatic core of Macedonia, their status, privileges, etc.

All of these, as well as other issues, were solved quickly and efficiently, because most of the problems requiring urgent solution appeared exactly on this field. Some of those problems related to our diplomacy were:

- Providing international recognition for our country
- Joining the UN
- Joining European and other world organizations
- Preserving the historical and constitutional name of the country
- Positioning diplomatic relations and opening diplomatic representations in the countries recognizing our country
- Opening economic ties with the world
- Signing bilateral agreements with all countries for normalization and arranging of mutual relations.

The problems for Macedonia in diplomatic arena intensified after the declaration of terms and conditions for international recognition for the former Yugoslav republics was consummated in Brussels on December 16, 1991. As a result of this declaration, Greece demanded that the following additional conditions must be added: that the state have no territorial pretensions towards neighboring members of the European Union; will not lead negative propaganda towards neighbors; and will not use names that would lead to territorial pretensions towards neighbors.

From the time of independence the tasks of diplomacy became yet more complex and dynamic. Many public and private meetings ensued, and were followed by the signing many documents in the cities of Gimares, Lisbon, Edinburgh, Brussels, Paris, and New York related to Macedonian independence and international standing. The international dimension of the defense policy of the Republic of Macedonia is an integral part of the common international state policy. Since its beginning, the Republic of Macedonia established and directed its strategy primarily towards the Euro-Atlantic political and security structures with the hope to fully join them. These organizations include the European Union and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as well as other international organizations such as the United Nations, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), Western European Union (WUE), and the Council of Europe. Due to intense efforts, our diplomacy gained recognition throughout the world from leading countries, and resulted in Macedonia becoming the 181st member nation of the United Nations on April 8, 1993. Being recognized by most countries and commencing regular diplomatic relations with them, Macedonia became a regular member of many associations such as the Council of Europe, UNESCO, OSCE, Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC), and "Partnership for Peace" initiative.

Our diplomacy still has unsolved problems to include the conflict about our national name with Greece, joining the European Union and other associations, and negotiations about joining NATO. However, Macedonia is not far behind the diplomacies of countries with longer traditions. The tasks of our diplomacy are many and complex, and the nation is a new and young Nation-State with limited influence on international relations; however, the country is intent upon producing legitimacy, dignity and power to decide its place on the international scene.

In the past period, state policy and diplomacy was guided in all possible ways, and basically on these levels:

- Diplomatic activities from the highest authorities of the country (The President of The Republic, The President of Parliament, The President of Government, and The Ministers of The Government)
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Diplomatic and other representatives of Macedonia
- Parliament, government and non-government bodies
- Politic parties as subjects of the politic system of Macedonia.

THE MILITARY DIPLOMACY OF THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

Parallel with the determination of Macedonian independence was the beginning of the hard process for international recognition, which includes the development of the security and defense system as one of the basic presumptions of her sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. Along with the other aspects of the development of the defense system of Macedonia was the need for adequate international cooperation in this area. The need for development of military diplomacy comes from the nature of the defense system built by our country, which basically consists of the Armed Forces of Macedonia, civil defense, and collective systems of security and defense.

The development of our military diplomacy can be divided into two periods: First, beginning with the leaving of JNA (Yugoslav People's Army) and ending with joining the UN, and secondly, our acceptance in the UN until today. The first period can be partially characterized by three kinds of activities under military diplomacy:

- Beginning of dialogue with the Yugoslav Army for peaceful withdrawal since the new Constitution declared the JNA to be a foreign army on Macedonian territory
- Reception of foreign military diplomats that visited our country at that time with explanations of our position on security and defense
- Presentations of our defense policy at various sessions of our highest governmental authorities.

The second period is characterized with intensive and efficient diplomatic activity of our country in the defense area primarily guided by the ministry of defense, ministry of foreign affairs and the state top political leadership. The military diplomacy activities in this period were as follows:

- Creating normative and legal ground for our military diplomacy
- Institutionalizing our military diplomacy
- Enabling of our military diplomacy (Staff, material, technical and territorial elements)
- Intensifying the military cooperation with all interested countries
- Intensifying the cooperation with the collective systems for security, especially NATO, as a military alliance
- Cooperating with the ministries of defense of many countries in the world
- Cooperating among the education institutions and military academies in many countries of the world.

In only five years independence, Macedonia, had achieved by the diplomatic means and ways many positive end states to include:

- Maintenance peace and stability in the country
- Settling all problematic issues with Yugoslavia, thus avoiding armed conflict
- Making agreements with the JNA to depart without incident

- Convincing the international community of our peaceful politics in defense, thus creating possibilities to open the doors of cooperation with international associations and institutions.
- Maintaining defense cooperation with many countries including USA, Turkey, Italy, Bulgaria, Romania, Greece, France, Germany, Check Republic and other countries.
- Maintaining inter-army cooperation between the Army of the Republic of Macedonia (ARM) and the armies of other countries
- Joining the systems of collective security, through UN, OSCE, etc.
- Joining the “Partnership for Peace” initiative, the first phase of the road to walk towards NATO.
- Opening diplomatic missions in NATO, OSCE and many countries important to us, sending military diplomats in Washington and Ankara, and expecting to set military diplomats in London, Moscow Sophia, Tirana, Athens etc.
- Signing the Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA)-determining the status of the forces of country members of NATO.
- Signing the SOFA agreement and additional protocol between member countries of NATO and member of the program “Partnership for Peace”, arranging the rights of members of foreign armies staying in our country, as well as the rights of Macedonian soldiers staying in countries – members of NATO.
- Opening direct contacts and arrangements with USA with the exchange of documents for bilateral cooperation between USA and Macedonia through which the preventive mission of UNPREDEP was established for significant contributions to the peace and stability in the region.

In the past period our military diplomacy acted on different levels:

Primarily, the President of the Republic, as well as the Minister of defense with his staff manages the diplomatic activities. Partially, the Parliament's chairman the Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affaires manages the activities in this area. In the domain of military cooperation the General Staff of Army of the Republic of Macedonia (ARM) coordinates the activities. The rest of the activities are managed by our diplomatic representatives, various expert teams, experts from certain areas etc. Actually, in this brief period of time, our diplomacy reached noticeable results in establishing and international affirmation of our defense policy and diplomacy.

FUTURE CHALLENGES FOR 21ST CENTURY AND BEYOND

If the past is worth studying for other than the sake of history, it is to learn lessons for the future. As established in the previous sections, the past is rich with diplomatic situations where coercive military diplomacy was employed in support of diplomatic efforts. The future vision promises to offer similar opportunities and challenges. Employment of military diplomacy will be linked to important national interests and will be dependent on Macedonia's ability to use military diplomats as an instrument of state

diplomacy. Future Macedonian foreign policy will impact on the degree and form of military diplomacy employed. As always, these utilities will be situational.

Many other factors will determine the pattern of engagement of diplomacy especially with regard to military diplomacy. The most relevant among these factors are the general world political situation with strong emphasis on situations in southeastern Europe; good neighborly relations with all our neighbors; the national security and military strategy adopted; and the means available to conduct military diplomacy. Political, economic and military indicators point to a future that will still be characterized by uncertainty and instability fueled by traditional ethnic, religious and nationalistic tensions. A strong international system will be necessary to maintain even minimum cooperation and regional stability. But than certainly nothing is ever predictable or easy regarding international issues.

There are two parallel processes of integration and enlargement of the European Union and NATO. The Republic of Macedonia has begun the process to integrate itself into European and Euro-Atlantic political, security and economic associations and organizations. On that road there is lot of work to be done but we do not have another alternative. The first phase of negotiations to achieve the conditions and standards according an Agreement for stabilization and association with the European Union is down on the road, as well as within the Stability and Deterrence Program and the NATO Membership Action Plan. In that process Macedonia will persevere until joining NATO and the European Union. In this context the Stability Pact could contribute for a faster achieving of the conditions and standards necessary for integration into European society.

Macedonia will continue on its way towards Europe. Within the context of European integration, Macedonia with its foreign policy will make the best effort to be an important and steadfast factor of stability in the Balkans. Regarding the creating of the constructive political atmosphere and positive climate the challenges for the 21st Century for Macedonian diplomacy will be outstanding. Whether military men are occasionally appointed to take place in diplomacy business or not, their participation in the formulating and implementing of national security policies and in the negotiations with foreign factors which are the logical consequence of these policies will continue to be very great. The role of the military diplomacy, especially in cooperative context, will be integral to supporting these efforts.

Word count=5030

ENDNOTES

¹ Sun Tu Wu, The Art of War, 500 BC (Translated and with an introduction by Samuel B. Griffith. Oxford University Press, 1963)

² Jose Calvet De Magalhaes, The Pure Concept of Diplomacy (Translated by Bernardo Futscher Pereira. Greenwood Press, Inc. 1988)

³ Stephen D. Kertesz and M.A. Fitzsimons, Diplomacy in Changing World (International studies, University of Notre Dame Press, 1959)

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